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THE CANADIAN RAILROADER

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WHAT'S THE CURE FOR THE "RED LIGHT" ?

British Journalists' Organization Declines Invitation To
Press Conference Here.

LONDON AND SCOTTISH LETTERS

From Our Own Correspondents.

OFFICIAL ORGAN,
FIFTH SUNDAY
MEETING ASSOCIATION
OF CANADA.

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World's Largest Organization of Journalists Declines Invitation To Empire Press Conference in Canada

(By KENNEDY CRONE)

THE Executive Council of the National Union of Journalists, the largest organization of working journalists in the world, comprising more than four thousand of the best men and women in the newspaper game in Great Britain, has declined the invitation to send a delegate to the Empire Press Conference to be held in Canada this summer. It was argued that the Conference was not in the interests of working journalists, and that this view was held by the unionized journalists of Canada. Any interest served, it was thought, would all be in favor of the proprietors.

The little Canadian Railroader has a long arm, and this is but another of many illustrations of it, the Railroader having been the only publication in Canada to deal with the situation leading to this decision of the National Union. It is also another illustration of the brotherhood that exists between unionized journalists, wherever they may be, in this particular case despite the fact that there was no official communication between the Canadian and British organizations.

Last year the Empire Press Conference of 1919 was being heralded as a great gathering of the Empire's journalists, when it was really intended to be a gathering of the Empire's publishers and their hand-picked representatives. The only organization of working journalists in the largest city of Canada, the News-writers' Union of Montreal, had no official knowledge of it whatever. While there could be no objection to a conference of Empire publishers, as such, and there might be a good deal to say in favor of it, there was serious objection to it posing as a mouth-

piece of the working journalists of Canada or other parts of the Empire organized and unorganized, most of whom had been completely ignored in its conception and plans. I wrote an article in the Railroader on the thing some time ago, and one of the first results was a stoppage of the story that the Conference was to be one of journalists, coincident with a declaration from Conference organizers that the gathering was to be one of publishers. The action of the National Union is the latest result. The National Union is organized on trade union lines similar to those of the News-writers' Union of Montreal, and other news-writers' unions in Canada and the United States.

While on the subject, perhaps it is pertinent to ask why an aggregation of wealthy Canadian publishers should be begging large sums of money from the Provincial Governments for the purpose of financing the Conference, and why the Federal Government is also being tagged for a large mess of the expenses? If a body of underpaid working journalists were to go around begging for gifts of the taxpayers' money so that they could provide themselves and their guests from other parts of the Empire with a swell time, what a loud, pious shout of protest would go up — oh, my!

Of course the argument is that the visiting publishers, most of whom will come from Great Britain, will afterwards fill up their newspapers with stuff about the glories of Canada, and the advertising value of which will be colossal. But don't you believe it!

Whether the Conference is a pay-your-own-whack affair or whether it is a come-and-be-merry-on-the-taxpayers'-cash affair, the advertising value remains the same; free feeds and zero hotel bills and donated joy rides do not alter the opinions or the intentions of the ordinary British publisher who visits us, and it is a reflection on his standards of ethics to suggest that they would. Look at it as you may, the advertising value will not be much, anyway, and will be much less if some of those great British publishers who happen to be men and gentlemen, rather vain of their independence, get a suspicion that they are being junketed on citizens' taxes in the hope that when they go home they will boom Canada. Let's hope they don't read the Railroader, or some of them will have apoplexy.

Now, there is sound advertising and other value in the Conference in Montreal this summer of the 900 delegates of the American Federation of Labor. These delegates are the direct representatives of more than 4,000,000 trade unionists, including 300,000 Canadians (including, in turn, Can-

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adian unionized journalists, by the way), and they come to discuss matters of moment to two nations. All are far from being wealthy or even from being mildly prosperous; many of them live from hand to mouth, and a week's illness would threaten disaster. Are the Federal and Provincial Governments digging down into the public coffers to see to it that they get a grand time? What an absurd idea! No; these delegates are paying their own railroad fare, buying their own dinners, footing their own hotel bills. Rides on Montreal street cars will cost them seven cents a trip, or five trips for thirty cents, and Canadian two-cent postage stamps will cost them exactly two cents a

piece. These delegates would not have it otherwise, and the workers who send them here would not have it otherwise.

If Canadian organizations or individuals want to entertain any of these delegates, they will do so out of their own money; when they receive guests they do not go around trying to pile the expense on others even less able to afford it. And if these wealthy Canadian publishers want to entertain their British friends, why should they not be real sports and loosen up their own fat purses a little more, instead of making organized desecration of the hard-won pennies of the people?

Kennedy Crone

OUR SCOTTISH LETTER

(From our own correspondent)

Glasgow, February 7.

The Labor Official News Service discussing the wool profits, says:—At the beginning of the war the Government bought its stock of woollen clothing, etc., in the open market. It wanted uniforms in a hurry, and was ready to pay anything for them. Consequently it paid—through the nose. After a while it occurred to some bright spirit that the prices were excessive, and a costings system was introduced. The Government bought the wool clip, the Wool Control Board was set up, and the manufacturers on Army work were confined to a "reasonable" amount of profit. As in all Government costing schemes the margin of profit was fixed so as not to harm the less efficient firms, so the more efficient firms must have had a few pickings even at controlled prices. But this only applied to Army work. There was no control of the civilian trades; there was only a small amount of wool available, and as even in war time civilians must wear something there was a wild scramble to buy. The manufacturers gladly used this scramble to put up their prices, and as a result the evidence submitted on wool shows that firms made as much as 3,000 per cent profits after paying excess profits duty.

Concessions Granted

The strike of horsemen and funeral men, which has been proceeding in Glasgow for the past five weeks, has now been settled. A ballot of the men, all of whom are members of the United Vehicle Workers, was taken on the question whether they were willing to resume work on the terms offered by the employers. A majority were in favor of resuming and the men have now returned to work. The terms which have been accepted show an increase of from 4s. to 10s. per week for horsemen and funeral men.

Clas Macrae Memorial

An appeal has been made at an executive meeting of the Clan Macrae Association held in Glasgow—the first meeting since 1914—for a memorial to the gallant clansmen who fell in the late war. Mr. Peter Macrae, the secretary, said that no more appropriate place could be found than the homeland of the clan. All clansmen and clanswomen were urged to assist in the endeavor to secure the necessary funds to provide a memorial worthy of such an object.

Railway Police

Some dissatisfaction is stated to exist among the 4,000 policemen employed by the various British Railway companies regarding their sta-

tus and conditions of employment. One difficulty is that the men are classed neither as railwaymen nor as police officers, and there is, therefore no recognized channel for the ventilation of their grievances. Last October the men placed before the responsible authorities a scheme for a federation, and the Ministry of Transport was approached, but beyond a bare acknowledgement of the resolutions which were forwarded nothing was done. It is also complained that on several large railways the chiefs of police are retired military or police officers in receipt of pensions as well as their salaries. Many of these chiefs are said to be in favor of the men's demands, which include the appointment of an independent arbitrator for the settlement of disputes and some standardization of pay and conditions, but, as already stated, although representations have been made to the authorities the men are entirely in the dark as to whether anything is being done by the Ministry of Transport to remedy their grievances.

Shipping Clerks' Salaries

Among shipping office clerks in Glasgow much interest has been aroused by a scale of salaries which has been adopted by one important company. For juniors the scale provides for a commencing salary of £60 per annum at the age of 16, rising to £120 in five years. On entering the service at 21, a junior would receive the maximum of £120, the commencing salary being increased for each year between 16 and 21. For clerks there are four grades—a, b, c, d. For grades, the commencing salary is £140, increasing to the maximum of £240 in the sixth year. For grades b and c, the corresponding figures are £260 to £360, and £370 to £420. In grade d, the scale rises from £430 to £480 in the sixth year, but the increases continue till the eighth year when the maximum of £500 is reached.

Shipping Prospects

A very promising start has been made for the year in the output of new tonnage from the Clyde shipyards, the total for January being 10 vessels of an aggregate tonnage of 39,910, compared with 10 vessels of 14,583 tons in January last year, five vessels of 9,765 tons in January 1913, and 12 vessels of 36,563 tons in 1912. This substantial total for the first month provides further justification for the anticipation that a new record is likely to be established on the Clyde this year.

Labor Peace Again

It is a strange delusion that any section of society should regard strikes with favor. The sufferings of the moulders, who were on strike

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for over four months, must have purged their ranks of any fondness for such a weapon, and the unemployment caused among thousands of other workmen, as well as the serious damage to trade, is an evil that must have been as keenly realized by Labor men as anyone else. And if a strike is unpleasant in its incidence it is always uncertain in its arbitrament. Like hitting a man with a mallet, it may secure your case, but it cannot prove it. The moulders to all intents and purposes lost. The five shillings granted merely records the increase which has taken place in their industry during the strike. And yet it cannot be denied that men who work in conditions such as theirs have a case for special consideration and special treatment. The way is open to them by the settlement to a conference for the discussion of their grievances, and they will no doubt take steps to thrash out their positions in relation to the other members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, of whom the employers no doubt regarded them as the spearhead.

The strike of the Pearl Insurance agents has succeeded, and the public's attitude towards it shows how liable to modification is the widely held view that the strike is never a permissible weapon. The concession to the insurance agents seems the barest justice, and yet we have been assured with every emphasis of authority that it was impossible to concede it. So long as some employers will meet their men, and some will only be persuaded even to meet them by a strike, so long as demands declared impossible are found possible if a strike lasts long enough, we shall have strikes and we must face the fact. Nothing that has yet put its head above the political horizon will abolish them; but the Whitley Council system will go far to do so, and it will, at any rate, avoid the nation's resources being wasted in strike for a recognition which ought long ago to have been granted in every occupation. Whitley Councils are the Government's policy. It would be interesting to know exactly what they have done in the past twelve months to secure this contribution to our peace.

As a result of negotiations between Kirkcaldy Linen Manufacturers' Association and the Textile Workers' Union regarding the claim by the latter for an advance of wages, the following basis of settlement has been reached:—Standard rates for dressers and tenters, 68s. per week; finishers, 65s.; warehousemen, 64s.; firemen, 60s.; laborers, 58s.; women, 18 years of age and over, 3s. per week advance; under 18, 1s. 6d.; apprentices who have served two years and under, 2s. per week; between two and three years, 3s.; three years and over, 4s.

Cleansing Staff Strike

Hamilton is without a cleansing staff through a strike of the employees in that department. Some time ago the daily system of cleansing was adopted, but the Town Council elected in November last gave instructions that the old system of dust bins, cleansed twice a week, should come into operation again. The employees declare that this system entails much heavier work, and they decline to return to work unless they obtain a substantial increase in wages.

More for Medicine

Scottish panel chemists are agitating for better remuneration for their work. At present chemists are paid 2d. for each prescription they dispense. This rate, it is contended, was far too low even in pre-war days, and is now disgracefully inadequate. They ask for 6d. Negotiations for a higher rate were opened as long ago as 1913, were suspended during the war.

James Gibson.

HORN WAS O. K.

Possibly the apex of sarcasm or something was reached the other day when Jones took his flivver to a repair shop and asked the man there what was the best thing to do with it.

The repair-man looked the car over in silence for several minutes, after which he grasped the horn and tooted it. "You've a good horn there", he remarked, quietly. "Suppose you jack it up and run a new car under it?"—*"Boston Transcript"*.

THE FLYING SCARS

(By GEORGE PIERCE.)

IN a recent issue, we printed an article entitled "Money" which was contributed by a well-known Montreal newspaperman and explains his opinion on the commercialized vice situation in Montreal. The writer asks that we be candid and follows by making the statement that "a city like Montreal cannot exist in the present era of civilization without the presence of a few lewd women" and he then follows with: "Did you ever ask yourself the question — what takes women into the red-light district? Your wife nor my wife wouldn't be attracted there — now, would they? Well, then, what is the lure? I will tell you — Money. Who is there to refute the statement?"

The writer explains that he has interviewed women who have come before the Recorder's Court, who gave as the reason for their prostitution that "they wanted money."

Readers have offered many refutations. Some have contended on economic, others on religious grounds. None to my mind is so sweetly human as the following from a woman reader:—

"May I beg space to say a few words about the contributed article entitled 'Money.' The writer of that article says if he has hurt anybody's feelings he does not apologize. Well, it is not on account of my personal hurt, but because I believe that such an attitude of mind does work harm to the whole fabric of society, that I beg leave, in my poor way, to endeavor to point out what seems to my mind its great fallacy. For it does seem to me that unless we learn to reason more carefully, see more clearly, we shall all land in moral chaos and be far indeed from that 'Kingdom of Heaven on earth' for which we all long.

"The writer of the article says 'You can't run a red light district without women', and then goes on to say 'Montreal cannot exist in the present era of civilization without the presence of a few lewd women.' Now, if he had only at that point asked himself 'Whose daughters shall these women be?' I think he would never have finished his article. If, after saying 'Your wife and my wife wouldn't be attracted there,' he had asked 'Why not?' then I am sure his article would never have found its way to the publisher's desk. Had his wife found herself having to make a choice between earning \$10 a week at some honest toil, or earning \$100 a week by pandering to the depraved lust (never legitimate passion) of men, which would she have chosen? To ask the question is to answer it. I might stop at this point, for I know something of the minds of the men who make up the body of the railway brotherhoods, and that they know good women do not sell their bodies and souls when they face a hard problem of earning their living.

"But I would like to take up the concrete case of the widowed mother with her child cited in this article. It

is not necessary to remind your readers that at the time of the flu last year the whole city was thrown wide open to render aid to all who were stricken. Hundreds of people were ministering day and night to rich and poor, but to poor especially. I do not say that child's life could have been saved, but I do say there was no need of it's being lost because of the lack of means to pay for a physician's care or for medicine. If the child died for any such reason as that, then I would say it was because of unwillingness on the mother's part to reach out and take the aid so freely offered. Every self-respecting person knows that help received in time of dire need can be repaid a hundred-fold. Being a useful member of society is all that any true civilization asks of any man. No, — I would say money — just money alone — had very little to do with the case in question.

"Take the woman's own words, as quoted 'When the kid died, I said to hell with decency.' Did that spirit ever get anybody anywhere — except to hell? I wish there had been somebody to tell that poor woman that she, and not decency, would go down into a terrible pit of degradation and misery. Decency has no place there, but the spirit which cries 'To hell with decency,' that creates the very hells it calls on.

"And, oh, I wish it would be more fully known that there is no other ending to the life of prostitution than a very real and terrible hell! There is no other ending. Do we ever ask ourselves, what becomes of the prostitute? To plunge into a life of sin and shame — nature exacts a terrible penalty for that — a penalty which the sinner must pay, which no pity can save her from. If at the beginning, when tempted to cry 'to hell with decency' they could look at the end, to the time (and it is short) when the disease and the disintegration begin, then would they never enter. And, let a man when he so glibly says 'Montreal cannot exist without the presence of a few lewd women', stop and ask himself, what he means exactly by that. Who shall the women be?

"Is he, while he thinks that way, any less blameworthy than the man who does not pay a living wage? Who is responsible for the huge profits these keepers of dens of infamy reap? Do you who read this *Railroader* ever stop to think the thing out? Do you know that it is a business, this thing we call 'Commercialized vice', and exists and pays huge profits because men say so lightly 'There must be lewd women'.

"Do you really think that if the economic system changed to-morrow vice would die because of that change? I tell you, no, a thousand times no! The spirit that cries 'To hell with decency' would still fling itself headlong into a life of sin and shame. The absolute heartlessness, selfishness, the greed, the lust of men and women depraved below the level of the brute

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creation, who live by the profits reaped from this awful business of 'red light districts' would still prey on their fellow-creatures under any system of economics, any method of commerce, any arrangement for exchange of labor. No, the problem goes deeper. It's a problem of the 'way of life', a problem of education, of awakening in men a love of pure, healthful, wholesome, vigorous living, of the kindling the Divine spark in human hearts, so that we may know the joy of work and play together in well-ordered and beautiful lives."

I have been particularly struck with the lines "Do you really think that if the economic system changed to-morrow, vice would die because of that change? I tell you no, a thousand times no! The spirit that cries 'To hell with decency' would still fling itself headlong into a life of sin and shame."

While a newspaper reporter, I had an intimate knowledge of the red-light districts of some of the largest cities in the world. I have watched the development of many campaigns against commercialized vice. At one time I possessed a very respectable library of volumes which covered the subject from the days of Babylon on down through the ages to the Committees of Sixteen. I have observed the preachers assault it with Bibles and the policemen attack it with axes. I have never yet observed any campaign that were effective in eradicating commercial vice. The reason lies in the fact that the demand outstrips the supply. It is well established that there are more than five buyers

for every seller every day in the year, holidays not excepted.

Having observed the phenomena for years in every one of its myriad phases, I am certain that a "district" is not a necessity to any community. There is nothing in a commercialized vice area that is not obtained outside of the 'district' to better advantage by the sensually inclined. Reason it out. Beauty, intelligence, voluptuousness, health and hygiene, luxury — none of these things are to be found in the 'district'. Beauty is impossible in such surroundings. The inmates rarely see the day-light, there is no ventilation, the houses are hot to suffocation, there is much bad liquor and very little good food, there are snow-storms of powder and splashes of red paint. A rose may grow among the rocks, but beauty cannot survive in such institutions.

Anyone who expects to find any intellectuality, will be disappointed. Ashes, human ashes; society has burned the very souls of these unfortunates. Why, they would not dare to think. They would be charged in our mad-houses if they used their brains, if they dared to think upon the cruel and sordid things that we have done to them.

Perhaps in your fertile imagination you may attribute to them the amorous languor popularly associated with the "trade". If there is one humorous thing in the "district" it is the egotistical visitor. The fact is, the women have a genuine contempt for the gold-lined, gibbering idiots that drop in.

Perhaps men are influenced by con-

siderations of health and hygiene. If they give this as a serious reason they are laughable. It should be quite evident to you that a woman who has thirty-five callers a day is apt to disappoint on this score.

Well, there must be some reason for men coming to the "district". Perhaps it is the variety, the number to choose from. Quite true, but every one is the racked, tortured, tormented, blasted body that we have seared beyond recognition, with cruel, selfish lust and fleeting abandon, and like the murderers who wander on, only to return to the scene of their crimes, men come back to be blasted in turn.

We are still searching for the reason for patronage, and now, perhaps, we come to it: luxury. What a pleasure to step out of squalid surroundings into a palace of indolent ease, of rich environment, into the halls of Jasper and marble, the foot-fall smothered in deep oriental, and all smoked in the incense of eastern culture. But what is really found are bare floors, cheap linoleum, ragged curtains, bare benches (the kind you will find in the police-station), dirty linen and a putrid atmosphere. A pale dope fiend will play a jazz on an ancient piano. Here is luxury! Any indication of prosperity would be an open invitation to hungry grafters. Nothing that is seizable is worth while. There are not four well-appointed or so-called luxurious establishments in the city of Montreal, and these four are maintained by the upper classes. Now, have we discovered any real reason why men should visit the "district"?

And what about clothes, fluffy furs, costly silken robes, the latest that fashion affords? All this is a myth. The average woman of the "district" cannot claim a grip-full of clothes. Her worldly possessions can be packed in a school-bag.

To complete my line of reasoning, I proceed by offering comparisons. I should speak of the conditions existing outside of the "district". There are the famous cafés, the dance halls, the private dining rooms, the select apartments, the luxurious rooms, the shadows that lie thick in woodland walks. The trusting, youthful beauty, the cultured, whimsical idlers, the easy philosophers, good food, pleasing refreshments, health, the air and the golden sunshine, and the great call coming down through the ages, insistently calling with its mysterious and relentless power. I will only allude to it very faintly; you would be terribly shocked if I dipped into its details; but I believe you will admit that by contrast with the hideous surroundings and environment of the red-light, the real lure for the sensualist is not in the "red-light district" at all. The real sensualist — "the man about town" as we call him — never visits the "district". It has nothing to offer him. Upon this very material conception, what excuse is there for a "district"? To speak boldly, idlers use it for passing amusement, and others with passing inspirations flounder into it before they have time to think.

You have heard of the slumming parties. By common verdict of the

upper classes they are very interesting; the things to be seen are so secret, so mysterious, the affairs that go on behind the closed shutters stimulate the curious, and so you have the so-called slumming party. The individual who rambles in under cover of the night is on a slumming party of his own. Through the sensational excitement offered, there is always great activity by reformers directed against the "district". The presumption is that the actual vice of the city is centred there.

This presumption is not founded upon fact. If the close association of the sexes is vice, and I am not ascertaining that it is, then but a small percentage of the whole infringe upon the moral laws really takes place within the "district".

Not one victim out of a thousand goes directly into the "district"; the descent into the well is quite gradual. It is something like this:—financial embarrassment, a sick mother, a brother ill with consumption, — a friend, a little financial assistance, with the spirit of transaction — "bought and paid for." Some heart burns, recurrent troubles and trials, another friend, the deadening of the moral view and ruminations of the mind. The survey of the future is black, the deadly monotony of existence pales. Endless work, much worry and no amusements. Rumors spread and former entanglements, and the reasons for resistance diminish and weaken. Other friends come, greater embarrassments follow. Severe trials, acquaintance with call houses, reputation for promiscuity spreads, health is impaired. She is shunned by former friends. Visits are made occasionally for temporary financial relief, and she becomes a day boarder. Then come the Sears, the Flying Sears. Big doctor bills, all avenues are closed, the house with the closed shutters, and the sunlight is gone, the commercialists of vice have come.

Now, what is to be done about all this? Exactly this: Stop carting these women through the streets like cattle going to a slaughter house, stop wasting time and energy fussing with landlords, stop railing at the police, their hands are tied, stop writing scare-heads about white slavers and cruel mistresses. Just arrange with the courts to give every man found in the "district" six months in Bordeaux jail with no option of a fine, and you will be surprised how careful our "wild men" will suddenly get about climbing into houses with closed shutters. Post a good-sized sign on the door, stipulating exactly what the conditions are. Try the cases in open court and establish identities very carefully. It would be a great education for the masculine gender of this town. Some very queer fish would be caught in this net. Among them would probably be an old man who has been wandering through these establishments for fifteen years looking for a "lost girl." This very prominent, very wealthy old man would either have to stop looking

for that girl or go to Bordeaux. I really do not know which course he would choose. And before you do this, before these notices are posted upon these doors, it is the absolute duty of society to provide the machinery which will reclaim these women.

In the years that have gone, the views of the very good and virtuous people concerning women of this type were very definite and exceedingly simple. They were to be run down and mercilessly prosecuted and punished for their deliberate infraction of the moral law. They were to be despised and loathed as shameless outcasts of society. Within the last ten years there has been application of sober views on the subject. With the development of the social science came Lombroso, the father of the school of criminal anthropology. He discovered that vice and crime is a relation of physical and psychic peculiarities of this type of human so-called "homo delinquente," that is to say, a delinquent man or a born criminal.

Such idiosyncrasies are atavistic. They are either inherited or gradually acquired through processes of degeneration; drunkenness, epilepsy and insanity were traced in the ancestry of famous prostitutes and notorious criminals.

Dr. B. Tarnowsky of the St. Petersburg Medical Academy applied the Lombroso theory of the "born criminal" and that of the "born prostitute," both inheriting the same characteristics. Hillquit, in discussing it, says: "Conception of the born criminal leads necessarily to that of the incurable criminal, and the school of criminal anthropology. This practically proclaims the hopelessness and futility of all social attempts to curb crimes and vice. The doctrines of that school bear a close resemblance to the pseudo-scientific arguments of the old-time advocates of slavery and the modern opponents of women's rights. . . . All of them seek sanction for revolting social conditions in the alleged physical inferiority of the victims of those conditions, and all of them fail to take into account the social and historical influences which contribute so largely to the development and modification of the physical, mental and moral type."

Enrico Ferri in his book, "Crime as a Social Phenomenon," declares the existence of a certain criminal type which can be identified by physical symptoms, which he qualified by declaring that such symptoms evidence pathological traits inherited or acquired, which predispose the subject to a career of vice or crime. He leans to the opinion that the criminal passions are the products of modern conditions developed by such conditions. Of the more modern school, Franz Von Liszt, attributes individual characteristics as of secondary importance. He says misery of the masses is the fertile soil not only for the growth of crime itself but also of the degeneration

based on hereditary trait, which in its term again leads to crime. Every crime is the product, on the one hand, of the peculiarities of the individual criminal, and on the other, of the social conditions which surround the criminal at the time of the deed. In other words, it is the product of only one individual factor and of countless social factors.

It is an established fact that a protracted industrial depression always results in the increase of crime generally, in the decrease of marriage and the births of illegitimate children, with the corresponding increase of illegitimate births. Von Liszt then adds: "The industrial conditions whose favorable or unfavorable influences in criminality must be primarily considered to-day, not only through financial but also through physical, mental, moral and political conditions."

Morris Hillquit puts it in this way: "All conditions surrounding the modern workingman's family, and especially the family of the most poorly paid workman, tend to drive its members to break the established social canon of law and morality. The exhausting labor of the working man and working woman, saps their physical and moral strength; their helpless and hopeless conditions in case of unemployment, sickness and physical disability render them desperate; their repulsive homes rob them of the sustaining influence of family life and drive them to drink and to the rude life of the street. . . . Their temptations are so strong and their powers of resistance so weak that it should be a matter of surprise that so many of them escape the clutches of crime or vice." In discussing the measures which may in a degree help, but do not check, Hillquit holds that crime and vice may be diminished not by police or prison methods, neither by supervision or segregation, not by any system of punishment or moral preaching, but by removing the worst features of these social conditions that breed crime and vice, and in this I heartily concur.

In every section of society, with the very rich and the very poor, the sears are flying. From the infinite beauty of healthful purity to the desolate pollution of human wreckage is but a step. It wings its way on the breath of a kiss, it blanches and blasts its way into your home, the vicious, wicked, flying sear. The day is coming, and it is coming very soon, when the people will have to be cleansed of the pollution, cleansed in body and in soul, for this is a sickness of the mind and the flesh. Everyone of us by a system of the most rigid registration, alike in particulars and in details to the registration for conscription, will be chased to district doctors for rigid inspection and cure. Then and then only can we press to our hearts these dimpled children — we can press them close to our hearts and say that they are ours, and that we have reclaimed them from a world of Flying Sears.

George Pierce.

OUR LONDON LETTER

(From our own Correspondent.)

London, January 30th.
News from our Labor delegates who have been investigating conditions in Ireland is to the effect that, unless the Irish question is settled speedily on constitutional lines it will settle itself on unconstitutional. They find the trouble is by this time so deep-seated that, whereas it has taken three generations to convert this country to Home Rule for Ireland, it would take another three to make Ireland consent to take it. The majority of the population seems seriously to have reached the stage which says "We love you personally, but politically all we want of you is that you shall get out of our country and remain in your own." The republican party, so far as our men's impressions go, are as strong as that, and whatever measures may be proposed to make Ireland a self-governing Dominion, under the British flag, like Canada, for instance, are doomed to failure. Crimes and outrages occur every day and are followed by repressive measures from Dublin Castle, which represents English authority and there would seem to be only three alternatives — maintenance of a large standing army; Home Rule, with consequent civil war between the two chief factions; or recognition of the De Valera republic. To such a state has bad administration and seething rancour brought that extraordinary land.

I mention these things because they have an important bearing on Labor politics in England. It is certain that at the next election the Labor Party will considerably strengthen its position. I am one of them who anticipate an accession to power for the party the next time we will go to the polls, but I am convinced that Labor's responsibility towards the British Isles as a whole will be vastly increased. That being the case, Labor leaders have to make up their minds what policy they shall adopt towards the Irish problem, particularly as they are promised already the voting strength of the Irish in England and Scotland. They have to prove themselves worthy of that support.

I have already given evidence in these letters of Labor's growing political power. It has a chance again in the immediate future of showing what it can do. The clubs and party rendez-vous of all descriptions in London are humming with speculation as to what is to happen to Mr. Asquith the one-time great Liberal leader, who has emerged from his retirement to fight the Paisley election. Mr. Asquith, whose speeches show that he is still content to remember that he was "suckled on a creed out-worn", is opposed by a Coalition Unionist who does not count for a great deal, and J. M. Biggar, a Labor man of a particularly good type, who does count for a good deal. Without laboring the incident, details regarding which are more within the province of the *Railroader's* Scottish correspond-

ent, I may say that London is looking to Biggar to smash the chances of Asquith's return. By doing so, he will have established beyond question that there are now only two parties in Britain that need be reckoned with — Labor and the vested interest class which it has dared to challenge.

The kind of Liberalism which thought itself something between the two is hearing, unless I am much mistaken, its funeral orations at Paisley.

The great question here remains that of mines. This week Smillie and his executive had another of those interviews with the Premier which curious tradition seems to demand, but which none of us ever imagine are going to be productive of much real value. The subject this time was the price of coal, which has jumped up and down in the most fantastic fashion. First it soared up to lunatic prices, then when Labor brought pressure to bear, it dropped just as suddenly and as inexplicably by 10s. a ton. But this was only allowed to refer to domestic and industrial coal; export prices remained so high that the coal magnates promptly took measures to sell so much to their foreign customers that there was an absurd shortage at home. The miners, after painstaking examination of the

facts, discover that, not only should export coal come down heavily, but that the price of the home-used article should be still further reduced. They say that unless this is done, and a consequent lowering of prices of all commodities dependent on coal for manufacture or both, there can be no alternative but a rise in wages. They quite frankly state they would prefer the former to the latter, because the everlasting chase of prices by profits is no more soundly economic than for a dog to attempt to live in his own tail. The only way to break the vicious circle — especially as output is growing considerably — is for profits and prices to fall, so that wages can be kept stationary. The reply of the Premier who has appointed a chartered accountant to go into the miners' figures, will be reported to a special Trade Union Congress which next month will deal with nationalization of mines and cost of living. It all comes back to this in the opinion of labor: no solution of the mines problem will ever be found until the State takes them over absolutely and without reserve, abolishes royalties and private profits and sells its own coal without the pockets of any private individuals whatever being lined in the process. Labor is determined to make the mines its big challenge to the Lloyd George Government.

Coming to matters purely industrial, demands have just been put in by the transport men — other than those engaged in passenger services — for an extra 10s. per week. Fourteen unions, with a combined member-

ship of 120,000 are behind the demand and have the backing of the powerful Transport Workers' Federation.

One of the most significant signs of the times over here is the stirring among the "black-coated workers". The victory of the Pearl Insurance agents, who won their fight hands down and got the £3 a week they struck for, has encouraged all kinds of non-manual workers to look after their interests. A conference is to be held on February 7th to which have been invited organizations representing mine managers, engineers, draughtsmen, transport clerks, insurance officials, scientific workers, industrial chemists and bank officials, with a view to a concerted plan of action being formed. It is desired to form a kind of middle class or professional men's federation and to raise their standard of living. Clerical workers are in many cases badly paid, chiefly because they have been slow to organize, and they are at last waking to the fact that the need for combination is just as dire in their case as in that of an unskilled laborer, a bricklayer or a factory worker. It has taken a long time and much patient effort to penetrate the thick layer of valueless pride, amounting sometimes to snobishness, which has encrusted their views regarding their place in the scheme of society, but facts, with sharp points to them, are penetrating at last.

A particularly interesting move being made just now is in connection with the Guild idea. It is the building industry which is experimenting, not for the first time, but on a more extensive scale than before, on an arrangement between certain municipalities and the workers for provision of the houses we so badly need. Manchester is leading the way with proposals for a Building Guild, to be developed into a National Guild. We want houses, thousands of them. We are about 600,000 short because the war stopped building. The Government has done a lot of talking; it has covered miles of papers with schemes and plans; but it hasn't built the houses. It has declared there was a shortage of materials. When that excuse faded, we were told there was a shortage of labor and the bricklayer must be content to accept dilution. The bricklayers retort that men are not scarce, that they will provide all that are necessary if the Government will guarantee no periods of unemployment, payment whether weather conditions made work possible or impossible and rents no higher for working class houses than 10s. per week. Manchester comes along with a concrete proposal that should go a long way to settle the business. Let the municipalities find the money and the trade unions the labor. Let the employer go hang, unless he likes to take a job as manager. The Guild should control the work and the houses when built should be the property of the people through the municipality. The idea is being taken up with some alacrity and a conference of building trade workers is already called to discuss it.

The membership figures of British Trade Unions for the year 1918 show

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1220 unions had a membership of 6,624,000 as compared with 5,547,000 at the end of 1917, being an increase of 19 per cent. Of this total perhaps the most significant features were:

(a) The women's membership increased by a third, and now stands at a million and a quarter roughly.

(b) The agricultural laborers' numbers were more than doubled.

(c) General labor has more than doubled its membership since the beginning of the war.

(d) There are now 200,000 teachers organized in bodies with trade unionist activities. In addition there are organized "clean collar" workers in the engineering, electricity, mining, banking, insurance, legal, journalistic, theatrical, chemical and other vocations, who are all more or less in line.

London is indulging in more restaurant strikes just now, and Fleet Street, the home of newspaperdom, has been invaded by pickets who tell us when we approach some of our favorite "hash joints" that we must not patronize them if we are to remain above suspicion of breaking our trade union principles. Some 25 restaurants in the City have been struck. The trouble is the old one — poor pay, and bad conditions. Journalists, who are to a large extent organized, are not going near these places until the union has given them a clean bill of economic health.

London, February 6th.

Everyone here is talking of Ernest Bevin's great performance at the dockers' inquiry. As I have before intimated, the dock and riverside workers are asking for a minimum of 16s. a day and agreed to submit their claims to an open industrial court, with Lord Shaw as president and representatives of both sides sitting upon it. The employers have briefed eminent and expensive counsel, but the men entrusted their case to two of their own officials, Ernest Bevin and James Sexton.

Bevin prepared his case like a trained lawyer and the speech of this working man turned advocate made a tremendous impression.

He said the Transport Workers' Federation had agreed to submit this claim to the gauntlet of a public inquiry because they were convinced of the justice of the claim, and because they had no objection to the whole question of the standard of life being open for public inquiry.

Their claim was submitted to the employers in October last, and in November they were invited to a meeting with the employers to present their case. The employers again met them in December and suggested a court of inquiry. He wanted the Court to remember the great patience the men had exhibited in the adoption of this new machinery of investigation.

At one meeting the employers said that they had found that the public, if the claim were granted, would have to pay more for foodstuffs and materials. Since that time very large staffs had been employed to find evidence of every little kind of delinquency or obstinacy that a worker might have indulged in.

He was absolutely convinced that the public were anxious to see a higher standard of life without automatically increasing prices. While he would not admit, if it had to increase the cost to the community that their men were not entitled to their claim, he thought they would show a new method of breaking the vicious circle.

They were told that if they increased wages they automatically increased prices. "The figures submitted to this Court will show that you must begin in the inverse way," he said. "You must reduce profits and increase wages to break the vicious circle."

Dealing with the history of dockers' claims, he said that in 1889 the rates fixed were 6d. an hour. Little improvement followed. In 1911 wages had not advanced, and the position of casual labor was nearly as bad. To obtain an advance of a penny an hour in 1911 the whole trade of London was held up.

At Liverpool from 1885 until 1915 there was not a single advance made, although the cost of living had gone up in the meantime. Employers were willing to spend thousands of guineas on learned counsel rather than that protective measures should be adopted. He estimated that over a quarter of a million had been spent by shipowners in resisting the adoption of protective machinery, and they had resisted decasualization.

The bigger the bully, said Bevin, the better job he got as foreman until the union became strong enough to stop it. He charged the shipowners with having during the first 31 months of the war pocketed £350,000,000.

"While shipowners have added to their profits, our men are worse off than they were in 1914. The most bitterly resentful is the man who has been 'over the top' and finds things worse than when he left them — finds himself still a casual laborer, still walking home without money."

Bevin referred to the piece workers in the dock industry who, he submitted, had been hardly treated. It was nobody's business to see that there were proper facilities for pieceworkers to do their work. When the men were engaged without a minimum the merchants had a large share in control of the discharge of grain. It was often the case when he was connected with the Port of Bristol for if the market was rising the work would be stopped, and the men told there would be no more work for them that day.

So the union secured a minimum. Since the minimum was introduced output had considerably increased. The argument on behalf of the men was that if there was demurrage for delay, Labor should be entitled to demurrage if its time was wasted.

A matter regarding which a good deal of discussion had taken place between the union and the employers is that of shift work and Bevin dealt with it. They had no objection to the shift system being introduced, he explained, providing there was at the same time a system of maintenance

for men who, at periods, had no employment.

There was only so much shipping which could come in or go out of the country, because we could only consume so much per annum. If they said during a gulf "Put on a double shift", they would, during a slump, intensify the difficulty of casual labor. There would be thousands of men fighting and scrambling and further demoralization of conditions.

Bevin made the point that the railways could not discharge goods faster than the docks could feed them, and the President interposed to agree that it was to the interest of the Government, the employers and the workers to do what they could to relieve congestion.

Bevin asked that men on night work after 2 p.m., what is known as the second shift — should be paid time and a quarter, when Lord Shaw interjected: "These men who always work on the second shift will call themselves lucky, because they will get more money."

An expensive smile spread over the face of the "dockers' K.C." He had been waiting for that. I suspect he had led up for the purpose of drawing the President to some such remark.

He made the answer he had ready for this occasion. "I find, my lord," he said, "employers often put up that theory. If you could refer to the report of Dr. Addison's Committee on Adult Education you will find that, from the hundreds of witnesses examined, we learned that there was a great and growing number of men who preferred to sacrifice their money in order that they might have their evenings for cultural development."

"After all," Bevin suggested, "the morning is the natural time at which to begin work. I am making a special plea for culture and recreation for our people, as well as for money. This is what happens. A broker rings up and says: 'I want a ship discharged tonight. Put the men on.' Supposing the broker were suddenly called upon to work a night, he would say 'I have a wife and family. I want to spend my evening with them.' But a docker must not say that."

In these rush times men had to go off to a coffee shop or a public house in a hurry to get food, because they could not go home for a meal. One of the greatest scandals of the docks,

he submitted, was the absence of any decent place where men could eat their food when they took it with them.

He asked the court to make it perfectly clear that in the case of pieceworkers 16s. would be regarded as the minimum.

He wished to make the emphatic statement that he objected to overtime — he did not mean at any exceptional period — but he did not think there was any value either to the employer or the workman in a sort of continuous overtime, year in and year out, or for very long periods.

Bevin told us how much he thinks it should cost to keep a docker and his family. He gave this table:

	£	s.	d.
Docker — 4 meals a day at 9d. per meal	1	1	0
Wife — 4 meals a day at 6d. a meal	14	0	
3 children — 9 meals a day at 6d. per meal	1	11	6
Rent — per week	10	0	
Clothing — per week	1	5	0
Insurance, trade union fees, etc.	4	0	
Gas, coal and light — per week	5	0	
Limited luxury, tobacco, literature and recreation per week	10	0	
	£6	0	6

I have dealt at length with this matter because it is the most engrossing topic over here this week. It has been a revelation that a trade union official who began to work as a farm boy at the age of ten, has had no educational advantages beyond what he has secured for himself and with only such experience of courts as his trade union work has brought him, could deal with such a mass of facts and figures in such a masterly way.

The joint campaign for the nationalization of the mines is drawing to a close. Its success has been remarkable. Crowded meetings have been held in all parts of the country, which have surprised even experienced propagandists in the Labor movement by the enthusiasm and unanimity of the audiences. A vast quantity of literature has been circulated, including a series of twelve leaflets, stating the case for nationalization in pointed terms; about twelve million of these have been distributed.

Ethelbert Pagson.



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Five Gentlemen Gone On

WITHIN a fortnight death has taken from us two fine gentlemen who were trusty friends of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association, Mr. William Davis, a Grand Trunk engineer, one of the founders of the Association, and Mr. Irving O. Vincent, M.A., Principal of Edward VII School, the champion of the backward child, who took a deep interest in the Association's educational work. Both were young men, Mr. Vincent being only thirty-five years of age, and Mr. Davis only a few years older, and both had notable futures ahead of them as citizens unselfishly dedicated to the service of other citizens.

Mr. Davis, himself an officer of the Brotherhood of Railroad Firemen and Engineers, saw years ago that the call of brotherhood was by no means limited to the workers on his own type, and in alliance with a dozen other railroaders who saw as he saw, founded this Association to try to open the wider field. Rarely did he miss a meeting of the executive board of which he was a member; only a month or so ago he attended one and gave his quiet, thoughtful counsel. He was also an officer of the Good Templars and on the executive of the Dominion Alliance.

Mr. Vincent was the director of the educational destinies of fifteen hundred children in his school, and he was the founder and leading worker and student of the movement for compulsory education in the Province of Quebec. Barely two weeks ago he expressed the wish that Professor Dale's introduction to his (Mr. Vincent's) forthcoming book on compulsory education should first appear in the *Railroader*, as it did in last issue.

Both were busy workers, their lives concentrated devotedly, self-effacingly, without thought of reward — constantly, indeed, at personal sacrifice and disadvantage — on the upbuilding of the Canada they loved, the development of a better and a happier people.

The ways of progress are surely steep and rough enough, travel is surely slow and tedious enough, and perhaps we may be forgiven for wondering why such great forward forces as these

men are taken from us so soon. We who were honored to know them well, and who dreamed dreams and built visions together with them, are much cast down.

K. C.

The British Federation Plan

(From *The New Statesman*, London.)

THE proposal to form a Federation of Professional and Administrative Associations, has attracted widespread notice. It has been variously represented as an attempt by the Labor Party to capture the middle-class vote, and as an attempt by the Guild Socialists to create an industrial alliance between the workers by hand and brain. To what extent these motives may be present in the minds of some or other of its promoters seems to us to be a matter of secondary importance; for clearly, if the proposed Federation is formed, it will decide upon its own line of policy in accordance with the will of its members, not with that of any particular section of industrial or political idealists. The proposal must therefore be judged strictly on its merits, and, if it is so judged, it is impossible to deny that the numerous and rapidly growing associations of professional and administrative workers which have sprung up during the last few years would gain immensely from the possession of an effective Federation which would be able to co-ordinate their action and state plainly their point of view and their distinctive claims and functions. It is probable that ultimately these bodies will decide that their right course is one of association with the manual workers in a democratic, industrial and political alliance. But such an alliance will come only gradually, as middle-class "snobbishness" and working-class exclusiveness both yield to the pressure of economic and political necessity. In the meantime the Federation is to be welcomed as an immediate source of help and strength to the industrial brainworkers.

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What Trade Unionism Means

(From The Carpenter.)

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The trade union is, in short, the natural product of the present industrial system. No agitator or body of labor leaders is to be credited with the production of the labor movement. The cause of unionism is the instinct of self-preservation, which is most highly developed in intelligent and robust nations, but sadly lacking in those peoples who are buried, so to speak, in ignorance.

The trade union checks the tyranny of the despotic employer. It draws a line between fair play and oppression. It transforms the wage earners from human machines into human beings.

Even the financiers, who are worth millions of dollars, consider it necessary to organize to protect their interests. If organization is necessary for millionaires, how more is it for working men, who have no property and social standing?

Take away the trade union and you take away the only hope the average working man has of bettering his condition. It is therefore to the best interest of every member of our or-

ganization that he do everything in his power to impress these facts on those outside the fold so that they will come to realize that in union there is strength and only through Organized Labor can they hope to attain all that goes to make life worth the living.

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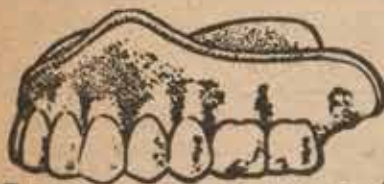
The Friends That Love Us Always

The friends that love us always,
In the good times and the bad;
The friends that love us always
Are the friends that keep us glad.
The friends that cling in tempest
As they do in calms are those
That have made the paths of hard-
ship
Seem the paths of song and rose.

The friends that love us always
When we go their way or not,
Are the friends that hearts remem-
ber
When the others are forget.
The friends that stick the closest
When the trouble grows the
worst;
The friends that love us always
Just the way they did at first.

They are the crowning jewels
Of the coronets we weave
In the dreams of tender moments
When the troubles start to leave;
And we lip their names forever
And we see their faces clear—
The friends that love us always
In the sun and shadow, dear.

—[Baltimore Sun



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Professor's Indictment of Plutocratic Orgy

ONE of the most forcible and
at the same time significant
indictments of the powers that be,
was made recently by Professor
O. D. Skelton, Dean of the Arts
faculty, Queen's University, King-
ston. Speaking before the Canadian
Club, he dealt with the economic
situation in Canada, and amid a
plethora of good matter, he made
this statement:

"We are seeing on this con-
tinent, more particularly in the
Southern half of it, an extraordi-
nary development of Prussianism,
which five years ago would have
been said to be impossible. We are
seeing extremists at both ends of
society trying to force their will
upon others by violence and tyr-
anny. We have had a few anarch-
ists trying to force upon the regime
they have in Russia by bombing
and by the general strike to compel
the rest of the community to adopt
their panacea and form of social
organization. There is no doubt
that that form of terrorism, the
attempt of the minority to dictate
to the majority, either by the use
of physical force or by economic
pressure, will not be tolerated.

"But still more serious at the
present time is the danger of viol-
ence on the other hand. The danger
from the hysterical plutocrat is
greater than from the anarchist
with the bomb, particularly in the
United States, where we have seen
an extreme orgy of men's nerves
on edge, thousands of men deport-
ed without trial, men sent to jail,
newspapers suppressed, sale of
books forbidden, men expelled
from legislatures because they are
members of a political party. That
is extraordinary, and events of
that type have done more to de-
velop Bolshevism than any box
orators in 100 years.

"There are limits when a man
is actually inciting to rebellion;
but we will have to permit free
expression of heretical opinion,
social, economic and religious, as
the only possible alternative to
using machine guns. We might
learn a lesson from England, a
country where the danger of class
war is greater than with us, which
has still greater problems, yet it
allows free expression of public
opinion (Ireland always excepted).

"What is the use of telling men
they must seek remedies for griev-
ances by constitutional means and
that they must rely on the ballot
rather than the bullet, if we can-
not give them the franchise? We
should bring to an end the attempt
to suppress socialism by the police-
man's club, by the foolish attempt
to rid library shelves of books."

When the universities begin to
think and to speak their minds in
this way, well may the govern-
ments that are guilty of ostrich
policy begin to wonder if they
really are playing a safe game.

THE OLD RELIABLE

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Freedom Of Thought and Speech In Canada

By J. A. Stevenson

WORD has come from Winnipeg that F. J. Dixon, M. L. A., has been acquitted of the charges of seditious conspiracy brought against him by the crown and that the parallel case against J. S. Woodsworth, the well-known social worker, was dropped, as soon as the Dixon verdict was known. For Dixon, the result is a great personal triumph as he undertook his own defence and conducted it with great skill and ability. But it is more than a personal triumph. It is a great public victory for the principle of freedom of political thought and discussion which has been so seriously menaced on this continent since 1914. Strangely enough the menace has risen to its greatest heights since the armistice brought an end to the actual fighting. The jury's verdict in the Dixon case brings Winnipeg back to its proper place as benefactor of a community of independent pioneers, in the list of liberty loving communities and proves that despite the ignorant fanaticism and prejudiced self-interest of an element of its acquisitive bourgeoisie, the heart of the city is sound on the great fundamental traditions which are the finest heritage of the British race.

The Winnipeg prosecutions have for the most part turned upon monstrous attempts to give wide constructive interpretation to the law of conspiracy and they recall the famous trial of the Twelve Reformers, in London, during the French Revolution. There had been formed in London, by sympathisers with the French Revolution, an organisation called the Corresponding Society, because one of its objects was to keep in touch with the democratic movement in France. Terrified lest the new democratic spirit should spread and cause an upheaval in Britain the Government of the day, managed by the younger Pitt and Dundas, arrested twelve of the leading members of the Society and charged them with high treason. The Ministers, after the manner of our own, had allowed themselves to be persuaded by their spies that every species of treason and folly was being planned and that a widespread revolt might be looked for at any moment. The accused faced their trial boldly, but Chief Justice Eyre, who presided at the trial, stretched the idea of treason beyond all bounds and attempted to make it include any effort by agitation to alter the form of government or constitution of parliament. The jury were infected by the temporary panic caused by the Reign of Terror in France and the fateful issue was very much in doubt till William Godwin, the well-known author of "Political Justice", and father-in-law of the poet Shelley, published a very able and forceful pamphlet in which he analysed the Chief Justice's charge and

exposed its fundamental object, to establish the claim to treat as high treason any effort, however peaceful and orderly, to bring about a fundamental change in our institutions.

The argument as marshalled by him was irresistible and the peroration was worthy of the occasion; in it he depicted the case of the reformers who, impelled by public spirit, had acted in good faith inside the law as it was generally understood in England, and were now to be crushed by a sudden extension of its most terrible articles, set in motion without precedent or warning. He exposed the ghastly cruelty of the punishment for high treason which ordained that they should be hanged (but not till dead) and then, still living, suffer the mutilation of their members and be disembowelled.

It was a decisive stroke and Hardy, Horne Tooke and Thelwall, three of the leading defendants, were acquitted. The charges against the rest were dropped. The result was hailed as a great democratic victory, and has always been regarded as a landmark in the history of English liberty. Holcroft wrote at the time: "The whole power of Government was directed against Thomas Hardy; in his fate seemed involved the fate of the nation and the verdict of not guilty appeared to burst its bonds and to have released it from inconceivable miseries and ages of impending slavery."

The reaction which had set in, in 1790, was effectually checked and henceforth the tide began slowly to swing in favor of democratic reform, though its actual coming was delayed till 1832. But the right of free political discussion was firmly won and established as a fundamental part of the British birthright. Emigrants from the British Isles brought it with them to Canada and transplanted it firmly in our political soil. Free speech and thought were settled and accepted facts which no one thought of questioning till the strange course of events in Winnipeg, in the summer of 1919, revealed that there was an element of the Canadian people who were prepared to set back the clock of human progress 113 years, and deny their fellow citizens the right of free discussion and free political activity because they happened to criticise the established economic order.

Precious ground that had been won by reformers of the past had been lost and obviously had to be rewon if there was to be any hope of human progress. To Mr. F. J. Dixon has fallen the honor of striking as fine a blow for political liberty, as did William Godwin, 150 years ago. There will be no more attempts on the part of the Government of Canada to suppress liberty of thought and speech. The rebuff is all the more deadly when it is remembered

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that they originally intended to deport many of the accused and only consented to a jury trial under fear of consequences like a general strike and protests from the British Labor party. Now it turns out that at least some of the men whom they proposed to deport without trial are "not guilty" in the eyes of an impartial jury.

One of the most significant features of the victory is that it has been won by the victims themselves. Foremost among their persecutors was that great apostle of Christian righteousness, Mr. N. W. Rowell, and the official Liberal party did not lift a finger in what should have been a great liberal cause. But it is better that the battle should have been won without any extraneous political aid. Its fruit will be the more permanent.

With the right of free political discussion once more established in Canada it may not be out of place to recapitulate briefly the arguments by which it can be irrefutably justified. It is a trite saying that thought is free and certain it is that no man can ever be hindered from thinking what he chooses as long as he keeps his thoughts to himself. But most people would regard this privilege as valueless. Thoughts which have any power over the mind demand expression, and the thinker finds it both painful and unsatisfactory if he cannot communicate his thoughts to his neighbors. Besides it is impossible to maintain

such a reserve. If a man's thoughts lead him to question accepted political ideas and social customs and to advocate better ways of social life and government, it is impossible if he is convinced of the truth of his beliefs, that he will not betray them by silence, chance remarks or general attitude. Freedom of thought in any valuable sense includes freedom of speech.

Till the war, in all Anglo-Saxon countries freedom of thought and discussion was taken as a matter of course and a natural right. But the right had taken centuries to acquire and the path to it had lain through rivers of blood. It took centuries to persuade even the more enlightened peoples that freedom to discuss all questions and publish one's opinions was a good and not a bad thing. The reason for this is obvious.

The average human brain is lazy and apt to take the line of least resistance. Most people have a great number of beliefs which they accept without questioning and to which they are deeply wedded. They are instinctively hostile to anything which threatens to upset the fixed order of their familiar world. They dislike the idea of rearranging their mental furniture because the process is laborious and demands considerable expenditure of brain power which they need for other enterprises, like making money. Therefore, to a great proportion of the world, new ideas and opinions which threaten to subvert established be-

liefs and institutions are evil because they are disagreeable, and those who advocate them are regarded as pestilential fellows.

But there is often more than mental laziness responsible for the hostility; often there is present a positive feeling of fear. The natural conservative instinct is hardened into the conservative doctrine that any alterations in its structure will endanger the whole fabric of human society.

The belief that the welfare and happiness of a people depend on rigid stability and on the perpetual preservation of its institutions and traditions is hard to break down and is still widely held. Wherever that belief is strong, new opinions are felt to be not only troublesome but dangerous, and means for their repression are eagerly sought.

There is usually to be found in every society a special class whose economic interests are bound up with the maintenance of the established order; sometimes it is a priestly caste, sometimes a landed aristocracy, and sometimes a business group. On the North American continent today, this special conservative class who want to wage war upon freedom of thought is represented by the limited capitalist class in Canada and the U. S. whom Prof. Veblen describes as "the paramount investment interests".

Many of these people nowadays regard any criticism of the capitalist order of things as a species of treason to the state and the mere suggestion that there might be a possible substitute is akin to blasphemy. There are at least one hundred cities on this continent where the motor-owning class would have exhibited under similar circumstances the same hysteria and hostility to free discussion as was displayed in Winnipeg.

Now the capitalist system provides an excellent test to examine the claim made by John Stuart Mill, that liberty of thought and discussion has its best justification on grounds of pure utility. It can easily be shown that to silence contrary opinion and discussion will in the end be hostile to capitalist interests. Those who would suppress socialistic opinions, for instance, (let us assume they are honest) would deny their truth. But they are not infallible. They may be wrong, they may be right or they may be partly wrong and partly right.

(1) If they are wrong and the socialist opinions they would crush are true and sound, they have robbed or done their best to rob mankind of a truth, which is no light offence.

(2) If the capitalist doctrine, which they seek to protect by warding off the introduction of heretical ideas is true, the suppression of discussion is still contrary to the general utility. A received opinion in favor of capitalism may be true, but rational certainty concerning the merits of the system can best be obtained after thorough examination and

comparison with others in which its claims have not been shaken.

(3) But the more probable fact is that capitalism and socialism share the truth between them. Now it is always useful to reinforce one-sided popular truths by other truths which a large body of public opinion never comes in contact with. If either of the opinions which share a truth has a claim not merely to be tolerated but to be encouraged, it is the one which happens to be held by the minority since this is the one which usually represents the neglected interests. Socialism attempts to state the case of workers and underdogs,

and as such is entitled to a fair hearing on its merits.

But in addition, there is a greater justification for freedom of opinion. The advance of civilization, if it is partly dependent on things beyond man's control, is still conditioned and in an increasing degree by things which are in his power. Chief among these are the advancement of knowledge and the deliberate adaptation of habits and institutions to new conditions and inventions.

That knowledge may be advanced and error corrected complete freedom of discussion is indispensable.

Greece and Rome each permitted great liberty of thought and discussion and made invaluable contributions to human progress. Then came many centuries of darkness, under the dominant tyrannies of the feudalism and the mediaeval church. Human progress stood still, art and literature were under a cloud, inventions were rare and mankind seemed doomed to perpetual stagnation. Then came the Renaissance and the Reformation which burst the bonds and set the world free. Henceforward the battle for freedom of thought was waged unceasingly in every generation, till victory was finally won. In the muster roll of the intellectual soldiers who fought this fight are many illustrious names among whom might be numbered St. Thomas Aquinas, Giordano Bruno, Luther, Spinoza, Marlowe, Roger Bacon, Servetus, Thomas Woolston, Voltaire, Rousseau, Condorcet, Wilkes, Godwin, William Blake and Shelley. But of the British race, the pair who struck the shrewdest blows and did the most valiant service were John Milton, the author of "Arcopagitica", and Thomas Paine, the author of the "Rights of Man."

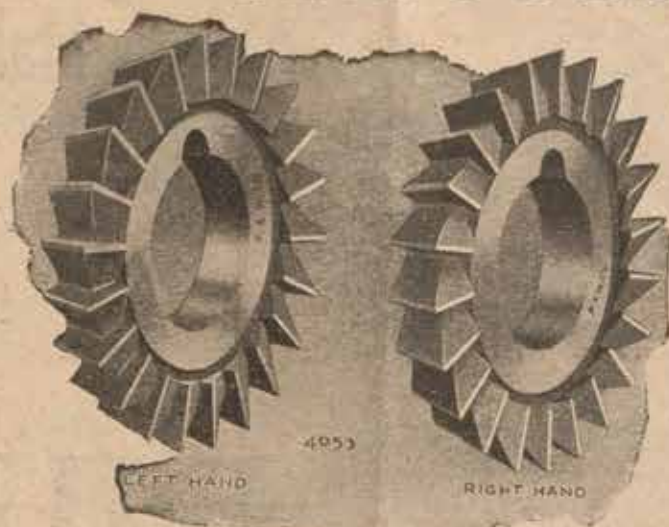
Since freedom of discussion was won at the beginning of the nineteenth century and restrictions on inquiry wholly removed, knowledge and civilization have advanced with a speed which surpasses immeasurably the achievements of Greece and Rome, where at the best speculation in the realms of thought was only partially free. The supreme lesson of history is this, that there is one supreme condition of mental and moral progress which man can secure for himself, and that is perfect liberty of thought and discussion. Its establishment is one of the most valuable achievements of modern civilization, and its maintenance in face even of temporary temptations to set it aside should be regarded as a fundamental condition of social progress.

There is still one blot upon our statute book which is an infringement of this treasured right. It is true the censorship established by order-in-council has been repealed, but amendments added to the Criminal Code, last July, define seditious doctrines and provide for imprisonment up to 20 years for the dissemination of printed matter advocating such doctrines. In regard to printed matter, the court will have the right to determine whether the literature in question is or is not seditious. The definition of sedition is very loosely drawn and could be stretched to cover a great variety of things. Its presence on the statute books gives too wide discretionary powers to magistrates and others and constitutes a standing temptation to violate the fundamental right of liberty of discussion.

When candidates present themselves at the next general election, for the suffrages of the electorate, they should be forced to pledge themselves to vote for the removal of these noxious amendments.

J. A. Stevenson.

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PREMIER NORRIS HOPEFUL OF RESULTS OF CON- FERENCE

Declaring that sympathetic co-operation between capital and labor was the only solution of labor troubles, such as had occurred in Winnipeg last year, and expressing confidence that this would be achieved by the conference now taking place between representatives of the employers and the employees in conjunction with members of the Legislature, with a view to arriving at an understanding on labor for the consideration of the House, Premier T. C. Norris took part in the debate on the address, at the session of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, in Jan. 27.

HEARST MAKES WRITERS ACT AS STRIKE BREAKERS

Sends Chicago Reporters to Milwaukee to Bust Pen Pushers' Walkout for Raise.

In an attempt to break a strike called February 2 by the editorial staff of the Wisconsin News of Milwaukee, a Hearst paper, the Chicago Hearst papers rushed a half dozen reporters each from the Herald Examiner and the Chicago American to fill the vacant places. Some of the reporters who were requested to go refused to play the scab.

The strike followed on the refusal of Business Manager M. L. Annenberg of the Milwaukee paper, to grant the editorial staff one-third increase in pay. The strikers claim that Mr. Annenberg threw their wage demand in the waste basket. Eighteen men went on strike. Only five men of the staff remained at work.

The strike breakers encountered great difficulty in gathering news. The deputy sheriff refused to allow them to enter the district attorney's office without credentials. Pickets were placed in front of the plant at the Wisconsin News and at the principal news points.

Five of the strikers were men of the Newswriters' Local No. 9. Intentions are that the rest will join the union.

Two of the scabs sent from Chicago were Messrs. O'Malley and Bliff.

John J. Handley and Henry Ohl, secretary-treasurer and organizer of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, held conferences with the workers on Tuesday, February 3, regarding future action.

CITY THE POOR LANDLORDS

To the Editor of The Gazette:

Sir.—I wish to add my congratulations on your excellent editorials re increased rents. The proprietor of an apartment house in Westmount can hardly be placed with your "fair profit" landlord. During 1914, these apartments (six rooms) rented for \$50 a month, with a steady increase to \$75 during 1919. For 1920, the tenants have been notified that after May 1st, the rent will be increased 100%, as follows: \$75 apartments increased to \$165, or a total increase since 1914 of 230%.

Other apartments in the same neighborhood are showing an increase of from 10 per cent to 20 per cent for 1920. Apartments that formerly rented at \$80 (7 rooms) have been increased to \$90. Apartments that formerly rented at \$97.50 (8 rooms) have been increased to \$117.

As there is no lay controlling rents, it means that fifteen families have been forced to give notice and seek other accommodation. Where?

There is an old saying that "everything is fair in war". How about peace times?

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ST. JOHN VIEW OF TARIFF BOARD

The St. John Standard, St. John, N.B., on January 23rd published this editorial on the proposed tariff board:

At its last meeting the Moncton Board of Trade adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas we are informed by a recent statement of the Minister of Finance that the Dominion Government contemplates holding a series of Custom Tariff investigations through the agency of a committee of Cabinet members, visiting the principal centres of Canada and hearing an expression of opinion from all classes.

"And whereas we are convinced that this method of investigation will only succeed in accumulating a vast stock of unsound and uniformed opinions, contradictory and largely theoretical, which will be of small value or little assistance in arranging a tariff law satisfactory to the people or beneficial to the National welfare:

"Therefore resolved that we earnestly petition the Minister of Finance, Members of the Dominion Government Cabinet, that they may abandon their express intention of holding Cabinet investigations and that instead a permanent Advisory Tariff Board be appointed representative of the different classes of Canadian citizens and including the best qualified experts procurable, whose functions will be the continuous investigation of Domestic and Foreign conditions, whereby the framing of a Tariff may be reduced

to a scientific basis and conducive to the best interests of the Canadian people."

The Canadian Railroader, a weekly labor paper, published in Montreal, has printed a list of 800 trade unions and labor councils which have endorsed the idea of the appointment of a permanent Tariff Commission upon which labor should have representation. Such a commission, it says, is needed in the interests of Canadian workers, of small manufacturers and of producers who are combining new and old processes of production. According to the Railroader, it is the development of small manufacturing industries that is desired by the workers, because the larger the number of manufacturers the greater security of employment the workers will have, without losing the personal relation, which is absent in large scale enterprises.

The suggestion is that a Canadian Tariff Board should proceed on lines similar to the United States' Tariff Commission. It would make a scientific study of industrial conditions in this country, find out how competition is influenced by labor conditions, and report on the effect of tariff schedules. It would have the right to recommend changes in the tariff, but the Government and Parliament would determine whether or not effect should be given to the recommendations. The value of the work of such a commission would lie in the development of a body of reliable information about industries and the effects of tariffs. With this information at hand revision of the tariff could be made without danger of disastrous effects to any industry, and any feature of the tariff which may operate to promote monopoly or injustice to related industries or the consuming public could be dealt with, with reasonable assurance that the effects aimed at would be secured.

While the tariff question remains a mere football of party politics, there is little informative discussion, and less chance to check party statements by authoritative facts. The issue is confused. Both Mr. Crerar and Mr. King say they would place on the free list a wide variety of things that have been on the free list for years, while their statements as to the effect of tariff are of a general kind whose value so far as the public is concerned is discounted by other statements, equally general in character, and of a different purport. A tariff commission would not remove the tariff question from politics; on the contrary it would tend to promote authoritative political discussion of the tariff which is a desideratum of first importance.

The Canadian Railroader says that it is very evident from the resolutions that are pouring in from all parts of the Dominion that the sentiment in favor of the establishment of a tariff commission is very strong.

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